2: Stirling--109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 581

"Just because a man may usually purchase any woman he likes, it cannot be assumed that romantic love is lacking in the live of the Jivaros. As a general rule, a man does not care to have a wife who does not reciprocate his affection. When he sees an eligible woman who stirs his emotions, particularly if he be a young man, he begins a rather elaborate campaign of courtship in order to gain the affection of the woman. When a man is in love he quite naturally desires to put on his best appearance; therefore he always keeps himself well painted and decorated. He is very particular about his hair and dress."

"It frequently happens, however, that a wife is purchased without a word being said to her. This is usually the case when an older man acquires a young wife. There are two prime requisites that make a man attractive to a woman, or, for that matter, respected generally in the community. One is that he be a good warrior, and the other that he be a good hunter. The symbol of his ability as a warrior is the number of tsantsas he has made. The symbol of his ability as a hunter are the bones of the tayo birds which he has killed. One bone is taken from each wing and these are worn as ornaments. The tayo frequent a few caves where they are hunted with the aid of torches. Because of the fact that the hunter is likely to encounter a jaguar, it requires a brave man to obtain a large number of these bones. Such items are a considerable asset to a man in gaining the regard of a woman. Desirable traits in a woman are that she be a good worker, have a good disposition, and be free from nagging. [111] When tobacco is blown up a woman's nostrils and she is able to retain it, this is regarded as an omen that she will have strong children."

3: Simson--391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 224, 581

Once a proficient hunter [KS: the Canelo] and possessor of good poison, of which fact the community is made aware by the number of toucans' tails with which he adorns his person--this bird being one of the most difficult to kill as it is nearly always seen at the tops of the highest trees and is one of the toughest preys to the Tecuna poison--he finds no difficulty in successfully making his advances to any young squaw to whom he may have taken a fancy. In reality there is little romance in the Indian maiden's preference for the greatest hunter: her 'penchant' for him lies in the hard probability that he, above others, will be more likely to provide her with an abundance of animal food."

"Amongst the women, Nambira was the leading spirit. She seemed more or less to direct operations, and incidentally thrust most of the work on Secouta, who was Mihanda's wife. That was quite natural, because Secouta was the stranger in Kuashu's household. Had Mihanda, for any reason, gone to his wife's house and settled amongst her people, then he would have been made to do the bulk of the work amongst the men of her family.

Nambira was as strong as an ox--that was her chief charm. Good looks count for little amongst the jungle folk, whereas sturdy build and ability to work are the greatest assets a woman can have. If you went hunting for a wife amongst the Jivaros and picked a young, nice-looking girl, you would be considered decidedly lacking in judgment. It would be just as if, in England, you married a woman on the strength of having seen her photograph. The original might turn out to be very different from the portrait. So with an Indian girl--she might develop into a useless woman. The young Jivaro can't afford to take such chances when he takes his first plunge. His number-one wife must be a sure bet, and generally the son profits by the extensive knowledge which his father has amassed on the subject of matrimony. It is only when a man is well on in years and needs young blood in the family, that he can run the risk of adding a girl wife to his ménage."

/332 cont./

preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies, disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotiations, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes residence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untă* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear